

175 methods and equipment in agriculture and the
178 dairy industry. This development was curtailed to a great extent by the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

175 Soon after the revolution, the Russian Provisional Government, Headed by A. F. Kerensky,
642
● approved the bill presented by the Estonian leaders to unite the governments of Estonia and Livonia into one administrative unit and appointed as Commissar of united Estonia Jaan Poska, hitherto mayor of Tallinn. The Estonian Diet was elected on the basis of the general franchise and met first on July 1, 1917, in Tallinn. This Diet formed a democratic government, with K. Päts as President. Now, after many centuries, Estonia was governed by its own people.

175 The birth of independence and the War of Lib-
701 eration. The next important step ² was the organ-
ization of the Estonian soldiers who had fought
in the Russian Army into Estonian national units.
Response to the proclamation of Estonian author-
ities was enthusiastic and many of the over
100,000 Estonians in the Russian armed forces
returned home and joined the Estonian army,
among them many high officers, although in
many Russian units the Estonians were not

175 granted permission to leave. When in St. Pe-
● 642
669 tersburg the Russian Provisional Government
was overthrown by the Bolsheviks on November
8, 1917, the Estonian Bolsheviks followed the
same pattern and the War Revolutionary Com-
mittee, headed by V. Kingissepp, took over from
Poska the Commissariat of Estonia, and the
councils of workers and soldiers began taking

1/2 [After election of Estonian Diet, July 1917, see cat. 116, pp. 36--
Analyst]

175 over the governmental institutions. In the midst

642

[669] of this tumult, the Estonian Diet met and pro-

claimed itself on November 28, 1917, the su-

preme power in the country until the elections

of the Constituent Assembly, and delegated its

powers to the Council of Elders, which contin-

ued to work for the independence of Estonia.

After preparing the Manifest of Estonian Inde-

pendence, February 24, 1918, this body pro-

claimed Estonia an independent democratic re-

public, delegating at the same time all power to

the Estonian Rescue Committee consisting of

K. Päts, Jüri Vilms and K. Konik, which formed

the first Estonian Provisional Government, with

Päts as premier. Estonian independence was

proclaimed at Tallinn immediately after the

Bolsheviks had left the city and before the

000 German troops arrived. The German occupation

433 during the crisis reorganization occurred: more emphasis was then put on cereal production and less on dairy farming. Beginning with 1933 the output began to rise and in 1938 it had almost reached again the 1927 level.

642 Estonia as a young republic underwent several constitutional changes. The first Constitution, passed in 1920,¹ was extremely liberal. The Estonian people exercised their power through a [646] referendum and a one-chamber parliament

(Riigikogu) which comprised one hundred members. Candidates for Riigikogu were nominated by various political parties and elected by the

643 people for a three-year term. The executive branch was comparatively weak, and was composed usually of a coalition of representatives of several parties. There was no separately elected

President, and the head of the State was the Prime Minister, called Riigivanem 48 ('State Elder'),

2 [June 15, 1920 -- Analyst]

000 Minister, called Riigivanem ('State Elder').

642 The executive branch could stay in office only for as long as the Riigikogu gave its approval, and the usual result of this system was that the governments tended to be rather short-lived. The first government of Estonia was formed of a coalition of the Social Democrats, the Labor Party and the National Liberals, with O. Strandmann as Prime Minister. In the period between 1919 and 1933 there were a total of 21 governments in Estonia, a great majority of which were coalitions. The office of Prime Minister was held by ten statesmen, with Päts, Tõnisson, and Teemant each serving four times.

It was soon realized that such short-lived governments could not pursue any long-term policy and that a better balance between the legislative and executive branches was needed. Beginning

642 in 1932, Estonia entered into a period of constitutional and political crisis aggravated by the world-wide economic difficulties and the rising Fascism and Nazism. Riigikogu drafted a new Constitution but a referendum in August, 1932, rejected it. The same fate befell the second draft of the Constitution which Riigikogu proposed in June, 1933. This failure was due to the very vigorous agitation on the part of the War of Liberation Soldiers' League (Vabadussõjalaste Liit), better known by its Estonian abbreviation, VABS.

668 VABS was first a veterans' league only and had no political ambitions before the early 1930's. Then civilians began to be admitted into the League until it grew into a large extremely right-wing movement in which ex-servicemen were only a small fraction. Their

668 leaders were young energetic men, the most popular of them a lawyer named Artur Sirk. They adopted the tactics and ideas of Italian, German and Finnish Lapua authoritarian movements and stirred up antagonism and resentment in a good part of the nation against the government and the Constitution. VABS prepared a new draft of the Constitution which gave the President almost a dictator's power and on the referendum in October, 1933, this draft was approved. The Old Farmers' Party (K. Päts) supported it in order to break the vicious circle of the constitutional crisis. J. Tõnisson's cabinet, which was the last coalition government, resigned and a nonparty government under the leadership of K. Päts then took office. When the VABS Constitution came into being on January 24, 1934, the agitation on the part of VABS

668 continued, with the aim now of overtaking the
642

● Päts government. To prevent these totalitarian elements from seizing the leadership of the whole nation, Päts used the new powers given him in the new Constitution and on March 12, 1934, proclaimed a state of emergency, appointing again General Laidoner as Commander-in-Chief. On December 8, 1935, the VABS leaders had planned a coup d'état, but Päts' government was able to stop the revolt within a few hours of the scheduled time of action, and many VABS leaders were sent to prison. A. Sirk and some others had already been arrested earlier, but had managed to escape abroad where Sirk, soon after the failure of the coup d'état, took his own life.

642 Although the VABS danger was now nullified, the nation was still sick and needed time to

642 recover. Now followed a "time of silence;" political parties and even Riigikogu were dissolved, and in this transition period Päts was busy making preparations for passing a new and better [668] constitution. With his support, the Patriotic League (Isamaa Liit) was founded for the purpose of giving popular support to the government, especially during the time of the new referendum. The professional and working classes were organized into corporate bodies; in addition to the three existing chambers (Commerce, Industry, Agriculture), fifteen new ones were organized. A National Assembly drafted in 1937 a new Constitution which came into force on January 1, 1938.

This new Constitution provided for a two-chamber Riigikogu: the House of Representatives

642 (Riigivolikogu), made up of 80 members, and the State Council (Riiginõukogu), comprising 40 members, 10 of them appointed by the President. Both chambers were elected for a five-

643 year term. It also provided for an elected President; accordingly, on April 23, 1938, K. Päts was elected first President of Estonia. The old political parties were still banned, but the "time of silence" was over and the people had again their change to speak in the parliament through her elected representatives from various professional groups. Although Päts has been sharply criticized for his dictatorial measures, he is hailed also as a great statesman who steered the nation through the dangers of Nazism to which the VABS agitation wanted to draw her. Political life was now more mature and sober than in the time of bargainings between the numerous political⁵⁴ parties.

- 642 The leader of the sovietization of Estonia during the first Soviet Occupation was Andrey

Zhdánov, a member of the Political Bureau

and of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

A new Communist puppet government was appointed, with Johannes Vares, a physician

and left-wing poet, as Premier. President

K. Päts remained formally in office for a

while, although he was actually a prisoner of

[701] the occupation authorities. General Laidoner

was relieved of his duties as Commander-in-

Chief. The Estonian Defense Union was dis-

solved and all its arms surrendered. In addi-

tion, almost all private organizations were

666 liquidated. The Communists speeded up the

[646]

elections of a new House of Representatives,

which were held on July 14-15, 1940. Although

non-Communist candidates were also allowed

at first, these were later all withdrawn and

2 [in 1940; see cot. 116, pp. ⁶¹52, 57-61 -- Analyst.]

666 only Communists remained, appointed by the "Working People's Union." The entire organization of these elections was a gross violation of the Estonian Electoral Law of 1937. The people were forced to the polling stations and the only way they could show their opposition was by spoiling their ballots. The percentage of spoilt ballots was probably much higher than the 7.2 per cent which the Communists announced.

648 The next act of the Estonian tragedy was the

642

incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

The same illegally elected, solely Communist House of Representatives approved at its first session, July 22, three acts of the utmost importance: first, that Estonia become a Soviet Republic; second, to ask the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to admit Estonia into the Soviet Union;

[47] and third, the nationalization of all banks, all land and all large industrial enterprises.

648 land and all large industrial enterprises. Accord-

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● ing to the Estonian Constitution, such laws could be passed only by the National Assembly, a two-chamber parliament. But the State Council never was elected and the election of the House of Representatives was illegal.¹ Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union on August 6, 1940, and became the Estonian SSR, sixteenth republic in the USSR. The diplomatic representatives of the Estonian Republic abroad took care that the Western world was informed of this act of aggression. The countries of the West, with very few exceptions, have never recognized the Soviet occupation of Estonia.

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[625]

Parallel with the economic sovietization of Estonia worked the terror of the secret police, NKVD (People's Commissariat of the Interior),

later the MVD (Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del,

Ministry of Internal Affairs)
1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 61-2--63--#analyst]

725 started to desert and to escape again across the Gulf of Finland.

727 During the German occupation Estonia was
642 ruled by a Governor-General (Generalkommis-
sar) and by provincial governors in each county. An Estonian puppet government was also appointed, headed by Dr. Hjalmar Mäe, which, however, lacked the confidence of the Estonian people.

668 Estonian patriots, under the leadership of
[643] Professor Jüri Uluots, the last Prime Minister, tried everything to restore Estonian independence. But the Germans did not grant independence to any conquered nation, and so gradually an underground resistance movement grew in all the conquered countries. Resistance cells were working underground also in Estonia.¹ The Gestapo discovered them and arrested many

-68-
1 [for wartime partisans see cat 116, pp 66-68 - Analyst]

727 Estonian farmers who were attached to their
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177 homes and land, bought with hard labor from the
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474 German estate owners some generations before.

With the collectivization of agriculture the
Estonian farm owners have become attached to
the large kolkhozes, and Estonian industry has
been organized according to the needs of the
Soviet Union, its production going mainly to
the USSR.

871 Political indoctrination is carried out in all
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208 schools from kindergarten through the university;
persecution of the Church seemed to be much
more obvious now than it was during the First
Occupation.¹

- 642 The members of the government of the Esto-
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nian SSR and other Communist officials who
escaped to Russia when the Germans occupied
Estonia, returned and resumed their duties as
1/2 [see vol. 116, pp. 57-65-- Analyst]

642 soon as the Red Army had driven out the Ger-
661

mans. However, their rule did not last too long.

Dr. J. Vares died suddenly, reportedly by his

own hand. Other members of his cabinet have

been accused of "bourgeois nationalism" and

consequently have been purged and have dis-

appeared from public life. A great purge has

been carried out also in the Estonian Commu-

nist Party and in cultural institutions during

1950-51. Many Russians of Estonian extraction

have been appointed members of the government

and leaders of other institutions.

648 So at the end of World War II the Iron Curtain

fell between the Baltic States and the West to

which they have heretofore belonged.

000 A more detailed survey of the situation in

occupied Estonia is given in the following chap-

ters.

464 Revolution Estonian colonies were more prosperous than the surrounding Russians.

162 Table 1 shows the division of Estonia's pop-
● 642
178 ulation into occupational groups.

According to Table 1, industrialization was increasing in independent Estonia. By 1939, 55 per cent of the population was occupied in agriculture and 24 per cent in industry. Noticeably decreasing was the number of people who had no established occupation (domestic help, seasonal workers, etc.)

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162 The percentage of active people who were earning a livelihood for themselves and their families in 1934 was 71 per cent. Workers and employees made up only 33.7 per cent of this figure, including family members who worked without wages. In the United States the corresponding percentage was 74.2. The largest

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The leaders of the Estonian people are now outside the home country as exiles in Sweden, England, the United States and Canada. The Exile Government of the Estonian Republic, established in 1953 with its seat in Stockholm, Sweden, has as its acting President the oldest living minister of the last K. Pats' government, August Rei, who belonged to the last cabinet as Estonia's ambassador to the U. S. S. R. in Moscow. The most important national organizations of the Estonians in exile are the Estonian National Council in Sweden and the Estonian National Committee in New York City.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2a

Political Background

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

642 The last Constitution of independent Estonia, which came into force on 1 January 1938, tried to reach a balance of power and to avoid the weaknesses of the first Constitution which gave too much power to the Riigikogu. According to this new Estonian Constitution, the Riigikogu was to consist of two houses: 1) Riigivolikogu (the House of Representatives), with 80 members elected on the basis of a majority voting for a term of five years; 2) Rahvusnõukogu (the National Council, with 40 members, 10 of whom were appointed by the President of the Republic, the rest representing the professional chambers, the churches, the courts of justice, the universities and the national minorities.

643 The President in the new Constitution¹ was
642 given more power than the Riigivanem, or Prime Minister, had according to the first Estonian Constitution. The President was given the right to dissolve the Riigikogu and to delay the application of its legislation. He could govern by decree between parliamentary sessions, but could not interfere with the budget. The President was elected for a term of six years. He, in turn, appointed the government of the Republic. A vote of nonconfidence by the House of Representatives did not lead to the resignation of the government or its individual members, as would have occurred under the first Estonian Constitution. The fate of the government depended on the President, who had the power to dismiss the government or to call for new elections of the House of Representatives, or to turn over

643 the question to the State Council for a decision.
642

Yet even if the State Council agreed with the House in its nonconfidence vote, the President had the authority to make the final decision. But if he chose to decree a new election for the House of Representatives and this newly elected House also passed a vote of nonconfidence in the same government, the President had to dismiss the government or individual members. When the State Council disagreed with the decision of the House, the President had to appoint new members to the State Council.

Bills could be introduced by the government, with the consent of the President, and by at least a fifth part of the House of Representatives. The President, with the consent of the State Assembly, was authorized to call a plebiscite on certain important questions. The

642 decision of the people was binding for the State organs.

641 The new Constitution² also guaranteed freedom
642 to the people, namely freedom of speech, press, the media of mass communication, assembly, organization and religion.

692 The judiciary was entirely independent in its
642 functions, although the judges were appointed by the President. It consisted of the State Court of Justice, which was the supreme legal authority, and of the lower courts; the Court of Appeal, the Regional Courts, and the District Magistrates.

642 The Constitution of Soviet-occupied Estonia was passed in an illegally elected Riigikogu on 25 August 1941. This Riigikogu was renamed then the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, which elected Prime Minister J. Vares as

- 642 Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and J. Lauristen was named chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, the re-organized Council. Minor amendments to the Constitution were made in 1947.

[177, 64] With the enforcement of the Constitution of the [642] Estonian SSR, which is actually the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. with certain minor adjustments, the people were deprived of their democratic system. There is probably no such constitution in the world where such a chasm exists between the provisions of the constitution and the actual practice of the government. The Constitution of the Estonian SSR is quite liberal on paper, but in actuality the citizens are without liberties. Some examples will illustrate this. In Article 15 of the Constitution, "The Estonian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union

- 642 of Soviet Socialist Republics. " The overwhelming majority of Estonians would be glad to do so, but no one can even express such an idea without being accused of subversion and, as a result, being severely punished.

Article 16: "The territory of the Estonian SSR may not be altered without its consent. " In actual practice the Soviet Union curtailed Estonian territory during the Second Occupation, joining parts of Petserimaa and Virumaa, east of the Narva River, to Russia without even asking the consent of the Estonian people.

- 665 Article 20: "The highest organ of state power in the Estonian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR. " In actual practice, as it is generally known, the ruler is the Communist Party, assisted by the secret police.

Article 97 provides that "the citizens of the

642 Article 97 provides that "the citizens of the
641 Estonian SSR are guaranteed by law: a) freedom
of speech, b) freedom of press, c) freedom of
assembly, including the holding of mass meetings,
and d) freedom of street procession and demon-
strations." None of these liberties actually
exists in present-day Estonia.

Articles 99¹ and 100 provide that citizens be
guaranteed inviolability of person and home and
that privacy of correspondence be protected by
law. In actual practice the Soviet Union, includ-
ing the Estonian SSR, is a country of nightly
arrests and deportations, punishments without
trial, where no citizen can have security. Pri-
vacy of correspondence is not given either, for
the people must avoid correspondence with per-
sons in Western countries in order not to be per-
secuted.

000 These are only a few of the many discrepancies
[See cat. 116, p 314]-320-

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,

Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

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● 642 Government in the Estonian SSR is the same as in all the republics of the Soviet Union.

646 The legislative branch of parliament is the Supreme Soviet (Ülemnõukogu), consisting of deputies, elected by the people, one for every 10,000 citizens, for a term of four years. The candidates are nominated by the Communist Party. The Supreme Soviet elects its Presidium and Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet convene twice a year.

645 The executive and administrative branch is the Council of Ministers, which is responsible to the Supreme Soviet. Formerly the Ministers were called the People's Commissars. There

- 642 The local organs of state power are only puppets in the hands of the central all-Union administration which makes all regulations.

SOURCES

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RG4 Estonia RG4

[For the complete text of the Constitution of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended to November 1947, see category 116, entire source]

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

ESTONIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended to November 1947

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and big landowners and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises and the nationalisation of such enterprises with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

Art. 5. Socialist property in the Estonian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

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421 Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organised agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

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421 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organisations, with their livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organisations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organisations.

p. 1
1 [Errata: insert "banks transport and means of
communication." Cf. Errata sheet, Cat. 116, p. 111-
Analyst]

[Estonian Constitution as of November, 1947]

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472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Estonian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

483 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

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185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Estonian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Estonian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Estonian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Estonian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Estonian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

[Estonian Constitution as of November, 1947] ³

642 Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14, of the Constitution of the USSR, the Estonian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

[701] Art. 13a. The Estonian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

642 Art. 13b. The Estonian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

631 Art. 14. The Estonian SSR consists of the districts of Kharluma, Yarvama, Lyngama, Poteserima, Pyarnuma, Sarema, Tartuma, Valgama, Vilyandima, Viruma, Vyruma; and of the cities of Tallin, Tartu, Narva, Pyarnu and Paldiski which do not form part of districts.

642 Art. 15. The Estonian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Estonian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Estonian SSR.

641 Art. 18. Every citizen of the Estonian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Estonian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Estonian SSR.¹

642 Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Estonian SSR as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

- a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR and control over its observance;
- b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Estonian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;
- c) Legislation of the Estonian SSR;
- d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;
- e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Estonian SSR;
- f) Approval of the state budget of the Estonian SSR and of the report on its fulfillment;
- g) Determination of state and local taxes; imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfillment of local budgets;
- h) Direction of insurance and savings;
- i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;
- j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;
- k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;
- l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

1 [Errata: (cf. Errata sheet, Cat. 116, p. 11) for addition--Analyst]

[Estonian Constitution as of November 14, 1947]

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a) Road buildings; direction of local transport and communi-
cations:

- a) Labor legislation;
- b) Direction of public health;
- c) Direction of social maintenance;
- d) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;
- e) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organisations and institutions of the Estonian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organisations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
- f) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;
- g) Organization of the judicial organs of the Estonian SSR;
- h) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Estonian SSR;
- i) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Estonian SSR;
- j) Organization of the military formations of the Estonian SSR;
- k) Establishment of the representation of the Estonian SSR in international relations.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the
Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

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Art. 20. The highest organ of state power in the Estonian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

Art. 21. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Estonian SSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 10,000 of the population.

Art. 22. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR exercises all rights vested in the Estonian SSR in accordance with articles 13 and 14 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, in so far as they do not by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Estonian SSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR, and the Ministries of the Estonian SSR.

Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR is the sole legislative organ of the Estonian SSR.

Art. 24. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR by a simple majority vote.

[643]

Art. 25. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR are published in the Estonian and Russian languages over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

Art. 26. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and two Vice-Chairmen.

Art. 27. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

1 [Errata: add "and INSTITUTIONS." Cf. Errata
Sheet, cat. 116, p. iii--Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 2-4--Analyst]

[Estonian Constitution 25 of November, 1947]

18

Chapter I. Arms, Flag, Capital

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Art. 116. The arms of the Estonian SSR are a sickle and hammer against the rays of the rising sun surrounded by a wreath formed on the left side by pine branches and on the right by ears of rye. Both sides of the wreath are interwoven by a red band bearing the inscription "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" in the Estonian and Russian languages and below the initials "Eesti NSV". At the top of the arms is a five-pointed star.

Art. 117. The state flag of the Estonian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Eesti NSV" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Tallin.

Chapter II. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

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Art. 119. The Constitution of the Estonian SSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

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Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was published by Egis (Estonian State Publishing House) Politicheskaya Literatura, Tallin, 1947.

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The History of Livonia.

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It is but small, but very strong, being Fortified after the Modern way, though its chief Strength consists in the Castle, which is built upon a Rock. It was built in the Year 1230, by *Waldmar II.* King of Denmark, but in 1347 sold by King *Waldmar III.* to *Goswin & Eck*, the then Master of the *Livonian* Order of Knights. After the *Muscovites* had considerably encreased their Empire by the Conquests of the Kingdoms of *Casen* and *Astracan*, and the great Dukedom of *Novagorod Veliki*, they left no Stone unturn'd to extend their Conquests on that side to the *Baltick*, by making themselves Masters of *Livonia*: The City of *Reval* finding themselves most exposed to their Fury, submitted themselves 1561 to the Protection of the *Swedes*, and in the Year 1570, and 1577. held out two memorable Sieges against the *Muscovites*, with prodigious loss on their side; since which time, pursuant to the several Treaties of Peace made betwixt the *Swedes* and *Muscovites* 1591, 1607 and 1617, it has remained in the Possession of the first. Its Harbour is very convenient, especially for the *Muscovite* Trade, which made its Traffick very flourishing, from the Year 1477 till 1550, whilst it was under the Jurisdiction of the *Livonian* Knights; it being one of the most antient Towns of the *Hanseatick* Confederacy, and having in concert with the City of *Lubeck*, the direction of the *Northern* College belonging to the *Hanseatick* Towns, in the once so famous City of *Novagorod Veliki*; but their falling off from the said *Hanseatick* League, at a time when the *Muscovites* soon after became Masters of *Narva*, and planted the *Muscovite* Trade there, did much abate their Trade. Add to this, that the Government of the City being near the Democratical, their Magistrates being not allowed to transact any thing of Moment without the Approbation of the Leading Men of the City, and sometimes not without the Consent of all the Free-men in general, the *Swedish* Kings looking upon this as dangerous to their Government, have found means to diminish many of their Privileges granted them in former times by the *Livonian* Knights. It was antiently a Bishops See, but since *Lutheranism* has been Introduced, the Ecclesiastical Government is Administred by a Consistory and Superintendant. Here is also a Gymnasium provided with several

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Their Time of Meeting is in *January*, when they decide all Differences betwixt Parties, in a very short Method, there being no more allowed than a Declaration and Answer, upon which they give immediate Judgment. At the same time they also redress the Grievances of the People, if they have any to offer; for which Purpose they choose every three Year a certain Gentleman, who is for that space of time stiled the Captain of the Province, whose Business is to represent their Grievances to this Council, and to implore their Aid. The greatest Troubles in their Law Suits arise from the Confusion arisen betwixt the Estates in *Harriland, Wirland and Wicke*, about their Limits, during the Wars with the *Muscovites* and *Poles*; to decide these Differences, certain particular Judges are appointed, who nevertheless are never continued above three Years in the same Station; but if either of the Parties find themselves aggrieved by their Judgment, an Appeal lies to the Council of the Country, who appoint Commissioners living upon the Spot, with Authority to reverse or confirm the former Judgment. And because peculiar Care ought to be taken of the High-ways, Bridges and Cause-ways in a Fenny Country, certain Surveyers or Judges are also appointed for that purpose.

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The Government of the Cities approaches much nearer to a Democratical State, being better fitted for Traffick than any other; for tho' the Administration of Justice is lodged in the Magistrates, yet in most Matters of Moment they are obliged to consult with the chief Men of every Guild or Profession, and in some extraordinary Matters, they cannot transact any Thing without the Consent of the whole Body of the Free-Men of their respective Cities.

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We will not insist much upon their other Customs and Manners, being much the same with the rest of the *Germans*, it being the constant Custom of the *Livonian* Nobility, as well as the chief Inhabitants of the Cities, to send their Sons Abroad into Foreign Countries, and especially to the Universities of *Germany* and *Holland*, to instruct them in the Policy as well as Customs of those Countries.

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We must now come to the second Rank, viz. the Peasantry; these Inhabit all the Champaign Country of *Li-*

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[For comparisons of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended to November 1947 with other constitutions of the Soviet Union, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]